177 have brought to their customs rather than truly adhere to them. This
183 passive attitude is due to an inveterate fatalism which makes them
563 bow before the undisputed master, the Mututsi, and also to the antiquity of custom which makes it as respectable as an almost divine institution.

671 As is the case in the Belgian Congo and generally in [5] Black Africa, the common law contains not only juridical rules applicable to persons, property, and society, it also contains religious and magic regulations, various recipes, etc. Such as it is, it forms a disparate yet solid whole which gives the solution to problems arising from the individual and collective life of the Banyarwanda.

671 The common law of Ruanda, applicable to a homogeneous
184 population, is the same everywhere, except in the north on the
563 frontier of Kivu and Uganda, where the authority of the Batutsi over the Bahutu could not assert itself as in the rest of the country. This independence has resulted in the substitution of the administration of the Bahutu clan and family chiefs for that of the Hamite officials.

● 114 Those who have known Ruanda and its people best are the members of the Society of Missionary Fathers of Africa. The Reverend Fathers Lupias, Schumacher, Arnoux, Pagès, and Hurel have published, in the Anthropos and Congo reviews (among others) and in numerous monographs, elaborate studies on different aspects of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the Banyarwanda. The territorial governors Lenaerts and Sandrart have also brought fruitful contributions to the knowledge of Ruanda common law.

121 Nevertheless, we do not believe that a more or less complete account of the customs of private and public law of Ruanda has ever been prepared. This is what we have modestly attempted to do in the [125] present work by inserting observations gathered in a questionnaire set up especially to facilitate [6] the study of native law (1). We have

1. J. Vanhove, Questionnaire de Sociologie juridique, Brussels, printer Lesigne, 1939.

not been able to go into the details of all the institutions of which some, particularly those relative to cattle contracts, would alone require a whole volume.

124 But, in spite of the limited time we could devote to this account of the customs, we believe we have given the essential points

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

•[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

## Chapter 1

### Survey of Land People (1)
(Cf. the map [colored in the original] at the end of the book.)

114 1. Part of this chapter is taken from a lecture which I gave at the 19th German Geographers' Conference in Strasbourg in the spring of 1914.

### 1. The Land Urundi

131 In the extreme west of German East Africa lies one of the regions of Africa least known until now: Urundi. To the north it borders on Ruanda, to the east on Ussuwi and Uha, to the south also on Uha, to the west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. Since Urundi has an area of almost 29,000 square kilometers, i.e., approximately twice that of the Kingdom of [161] Saxony, and since it has over one and a half million inhabitants (according to van der Burgt, around two and a half million), it deserves attention for this reason alone. However, although 648 it has been German territory for over 25 years, we know little about it. Because of the recalcitrance of its population, the government had almost completely closed off the area to travel from the outside, and until 1911 political influence was limited to the establishment of a station with a resident and a company of colonial troops in Usumbura on Lake Tanganyika. It was not until 1912 that the seat of government was moved on a trial basis to Gitega in the interior of the region.

648 Oskar Baumann in 1812 was the first European who 797 traveled through northern Urundi to the source of the Nile on the upper Ruvuvu. There followed then between 1896 and 1898 several military expeditions by colonial army officers, Ramsay, von Trotha, Langheld, von Langenn-Steinkeller, Fonck, and Dr. Kandt; and between 1896 and 1899 the Catholic Mission of

648 [791] the "White Fathers" founded the stations of Usumbura (later moved to Marienheim), Mujaga, and Mugera in central Urundi. However, this advance of the Europeans was met with hostility by the Barundi [Rundi], so that from 1900 on German colonial troops under their leaders, Bethe, von Beringe, and von Grawert, had to contend with Kisabo, the king of Urundi, whereupon the Barundi finally recognized the sovereignty of the Germans. This recognition, however, is only nominal, for our power there is much too small to permit the establishment of a German administration in Urundi as yet.

● 114 Under such circumstances the exploration of Urundi could make no substantial progress. Ethnology alone has been advanced to a high degree by Father J. M. M. van der Burgt, who for many years was active in Urundi as a missionary and published the results of his excellent ethnological studies in Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi which appeared in 1903 through the Dutch Missionary Publishing House at Bois le Duc. The extremely extensive ethnological and ethnographical data, however, are so interspersed in this book with all kinds of historical and [2] linguistic digressions that it is difficult to extract and methodically collate the ethnological data of scientific value.

In view of this situation I decided to devote part of my 1911 expedition to the investigation of Urundi. Therefore, I worked there for a few months, sufficient time to obtain an over-all view which I have endeavored to supplement, as far as possible, by inquiries, correspondence, and other kinds of studies. Setting out from Ruanda in the northwest, I first crossed the northwestern mountain region, the "Mountains of the Moon" with my two companions, Lieutenant Tiller and Dr. Houy, then descended to the great central African depression into the valley of the Ruzizi, then crossed in dugouts the northern end of Lake Tanganyika to the residency, Usumbura, and thereupon traveled through the whole of central Urundi from west to east in a month and further through northern Uha and the Ussumbwa states, until finally, at Tabora, I reached the central railroad by which I traveled to Dar es Salaam.

Batussi

## 3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

144 [8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.

141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary

142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

## 3. Clans, Exogamy, Totemism

614 In addition to the social stratification resulting from the different ethnic strata of the population with the Bahima conquerors, Batussi, as the upper class, there is in the entire interlacustrine region a subordinate social structure determined by kin groups or clans consisting of blood relatives. Depending on their nature, there are clans of Batussi, of Bahutu, and of Batwa. As a group of families related by blood, the clan is the basis of the entire social organization of both Ruanda and of Urundi, and also of Karagwe, Kisiba, Ankole, etc., while the political state is organized on the feudal system. Unfortunately, we 614 know very little about the clans of the Barundi since my pre- 114 decessors have given little attention to this institution and since the natives are reluctant to give information about these con- [551] ditions, more from fear of the evil results of mentioning names than from their religious concepts (see p. 111, 112). These things are much clearer in Ruanda where Czekanowski, assisted by the missionaries and Christianized natives, was able to obtain much interesting information about the clan structure (No. 48, Chap. 11). What I am able to convey below I owe -- except for my own findings in the field -- to information received from Capt. von Langenn-Steinkeller and Father van der Burgt.

"In his Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi, van der Burgt refers to a few privileged Batussi families from whom the kings customarily choose their wives (see pp. 99, 101, also p. 182 of original text [not translated]), but he fails to mention anything about an organization of the entire population into clans which is of decisive legal, social, and political importance. In reply to my direct inquiry, Father van der Burgt sent me the following information: "Formerly I held the belief for a long time that no clan organization at all existed in Urundi. Both in Unjamwesi and in Kisiba (No. 31, p. 5) one always hears people speak of their luganda (families, cognatio) and their kisse (pl., visse), i.e., clan; for example, whenever one asks a woman for her name, she first gives the name of her clan, e.g., "I am a Magana" or a "Njamurega" or a "Kundwa," etc. In central

614/114 Urundi, however, I only once heard a woman say that she was a Magana. Thus, I would say that clan organization is not as pronounced in Urundi as it is in Unjamwesi, Ussuwi, Kisiba, etc. In Kirundi I am not familiar with a word like the Usámbiro "kisse" [99] but the Warundi often speak of their "umurjango" which also means kin group, clan. However, in Ruanda clan organization seems to be well developed. In northern Urundi (Mariensee Mission) where there are many Wanjakissaka immigrants, they often speak of their clans, but this does not apply to the Warundi who live there.

"Whether there are few or many such clans in Urundi I do not know. I discovered the names listed below, but I cannot guarantee that they are genuine Urundi clan names. I rather think that they originate from the periphery of the country: Wajango, Wamagana, Wassindi, Waschambo, Wasinga, Wajambo (Wanjambo), Wasigawa (Wasigaba), and others. Incidentally, although the population is divided into clans, the members live all over the area without rule or restraint, i.e., not localized."

Van der Burgt further lists (see p. 183 [not translated]) the Wakundo, Warwanda (Wawanda, Babanda?), Wenengwe, Wanjakarama, Wasigaba, and Waterwa (Watoirwa?) as the families closest to the royal family. On the other hand, Capt. v. Langenn informs me that the Batussi families of the highest rank are the Banjakarama, Benengwe, Banjakissaka, Baschunguka, and Boschoka, after which there follows a second series of families, also very distinguished, the Bawanda, Bahondogo, Bassawu, Bawejuru, Baschama, Bega, Bawankundu, Babile, Basindakire, and others. A few of these family names, like the Bega, the Bawanda, the Bakundo, and the Baschama, were repeatedly mentioned to me in Urundi, and in addition the Baschambo, Basito, Bagessera, Bakango, Balenge, Baransi, Balesi, Bakono, Basseke, Bassabu, Bajosi, and Barire.

If we compare these names with the family names listed by Czekanowski in his clan tables from Unjoro, Toro, Ankole, Mpororó, Kjamtwara, Kisiba, and Ruanda (No. 48, pp. 41, 88, 233-251) and with those mentioned by Kandt, van der Burgt, van Thiel,

614 Stuhlmann, P. Schumacher, Meldon, Roscoe, Rehse, and
●114 others, we rediscover over half of the Barundi names also in these lands, especially in Ruanda. This indicates the direction of the closest relationship to the Barundi families. According to legend, the Basinga, Bagessera, and Basigaba are the oldest kin groups there (see p. 153 [not translated]). Probably these clans of Urundi and the northern Bahima states which have the same name are mere offshoots of one original clan which split up as the result of a large increase in numbers or from being harrassed by war and spread over the area by migration. Throughout Urundi, Ruanda, and the northern areas of the inter-lacustrine region, the Bawanda, Bega, Bakango, Baschambo, Bagaia, Basindi, Basinga, Basito, Bajango, Basigaba, Bajubu, and others are most widely dispersed, while the Bahondogo, Bassabu, Baschunguka, Babile, Basindakire, Barire, and Basseke seem to be restricted to Urundi, although future investigators may discover them in other areas. Perhaps their blood relatives and namesakes may be found father south and west, rather than in the north.

614 The majority of the clans listed above are those of the Batussi, but the Bamagana, Bajango, Basseke, Basjubu, Barire, and others are Bahutu. In addition to this, there are numerous Batwa clans whose names, however, I was unable to ascertain. Some clan names refer both to Batussi and to Bahutu clans. In fact, a few, as, for example, the Bagessera and Basinga, even refer to Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa clans. It appears that the type of clan structure, the internal organization and the hierarchy of the clans, their social role, and their mutual legal relationships among the Batussi differ essentially in only a few characteristics from those of the Bahutu and the Batwa, namely, in those institutions and rules whose aim is to keep the Batussi blood pure and to maintain the exclusive position of their race and thus its authority. [100] Remnants of earlier endogamy still exist among them (see p. 101), while otherwise the clans are strictly exogamous. Probably the Batussi adopted the clan organization of the older ethnic elements in Urundi, just as they adopted many

614 Wherever monarchy with its state organization has not yet
621 dissolved the clans and dispersed their members all over the various feudal districts of the Batussi state (see p. 89 ), wherever the clans have preserved the main elements of their ancient solidarity and autonomy, as is the case particularly in the more or less independent border provinces of Urundi (and Ruanda), the clans form small or large communities under an elected clan elder (umugabo). This is especially true of
614 the Bahutu clans that existed in the area before the period of
423 Batussi rule. The office of the umugabo is hereditary in
621 many cases. The central communalistic element in the organization of these clans is the communal ownership of the land occupied by the clan. The land belongs to the clan community probably because it was originally appropriated and cultivated by the clan. The individual clan members is merely entitled to the use of the land he cultivates or of the pasture where his cattle grazes. Only the hut built on this ground is the real property of the individual, in addition to the inventory of implements, tools, weapons, and the cattle he has raised from the herd with which he has been vested by his feudal lord (see p. 93 ).

614 E. Johanssen, a missionary who in 1907 founded the first
182 Protestant missionary stations of Dsinga and Kirinda in Ruanda
[114] and who is an eminent student of the Banjaruanda, makes the following comment on the social importance of the Ruanda clans: "These kin group organizations hand down the old customs and traditions from one generation to the next. In this way they preserve the national characteristics against intermixture and decay. The easier it is to loosen the ties of the family group in its narrowly defined sense as a result of polygamy and by the dissolution of marriage, the greater is the [105] importance of the stable, indissoluble, religiously determined kin group. The destruction of this group would cause the entire nation to disintegrate and to split up into isolated groups which would be exposed to any outside influence. There can be no doubt that the kin group, as the

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the histori-
575 cal Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. Ac-
794 cording to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
● 114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp. 220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn, however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen, the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39, p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "soeiété secrète" whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the king's court (see p. 13 ), are the bodyguards and the "guardians of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them (No. 44, p. 292).

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom ●114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[177] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

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# INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of this work is directly concerned with the description and analysis of the political organization of Ruanda. The first chapters, however, are devoted to other aspects of the social system: kinship and affinity, marriage and family. As the whole system of social relations in Ruanda constituted a closely knit fabric, it was thought that an understanding of the political institutions necessitates also some treatment of the other structures of human relations. Moreover, a brief account of the physical environment, the quest for food, shelter, and health, and some demographic data have been included because these elements, if external to the pattern of political relations, set the limits within which the Ruanda system of domination grew.

This study refers to the period immediately preceding the time when Ruanda was submitted to the influence of Western culture through its European agents. That is to say, in the continuously moving historical stream, we have chosen to study the particular configuration of the Ruanda political organization at the moment when it had been moulded by the action of many forces, but not by the full impact of European contacts. For reasons mentioned later, the 'zero point' of direct European influence on Ruanda society is not difficult to assess. It is in the first decade of this century. Ruanda social structure did not undergo any significant modification due to European influence until roughly 1910. This date is fortunately not very distant, and around 1950 it was still possible to interview many people who had been young when the old régime was still a working concern. As far as we know, there had been also no direct and continuous contact between Arabs and Ruanda prior to that time.

To remind the reader that we are describing structures and institutions which no longer exist, at least in their entirety, my account is given in the past tense even when it refers to features which are still functioning today. The expressions 'today', 'now', 'at the present time', &c., refer to the period 1950–1 during which basic research was carried out in Ruanda.

As a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale*, I carried out field work in Ruanda

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for two years, from December 1949 to November 1951. During that period information was secured by continuous observation and by informal interviews with Africans and Europeans. Some administrative officers and missionaries, keenly interested in the society and culture of the Ruanda, have contributed much information and stimulating opinions.

In addition to this work, three systematic inquiries on specific subjects have been completed: political organization, kinship and family structures, and cosmological and ethical systems. Each of these inquiries was prepared by a preliminary survey on the subject, on the basis of which schedules of topics and specific questions were framed.

The preliminary survey of political organization enabled me to collect a considerable amount of information on that subject. Consequently, a later inquiry could aim primarily at checking and making more precise what was already known. To achieve this purpose a hundred-question schedule was devised. It was the object of each question that it should fulfil as adequately as possible the following conditions: to be neutral (formulated in such a way as not to suggest that the investigator preferred one answer rather than another), significant (likely to clarify obscure or controversial issues), concrete (such as 'Were there more or less people in group A than in group B?') rather than abstract (such as 'Give a definition of the administrative organization'), and simple (to be answered by 'yes', 'no', or one word). This last requirement was particularly important as it made possible a summing up of the answers. A translation of this questionnaire is given as Appendix One.

The choice of informants was made according to the following procedure. About a dozen persons, Africans and Europeans, who had been living for many years in Ruanda and had been in close contact with many members of the African community, were asked to give a list of Ruanda (Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa) who, in their opinion, would be familiar with the pre-European political structure, particularly from direct experience. The importance of listing people living in all the different regions of the country was stressed. By collating the various lists I finally obtained a set of about 350 names of men scattered everywhere in the country.

In order to interview them, I had to move between seventy-four different places which were about evenly distributed through the

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informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952–December 1955 and September 1956–September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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The Twa are thought to have been the first inhabitants of Ruanda. This may be inferred from the general reconstruction of the vast human migrations that are supposed to have taken place in Africa in the remote past, and according to which Pygmies and Pygmoids would appear to be the most ancient inhabitants of that part of Africa. Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, the Twa, being hunters and collectors of fruits, seeds, and roots, did not greatly modify the natural vegetal cover of the country.

It was left to the Hutu hoe-cultivators to begin the transformation of the country. The time of their arrival, either after or contemporary with that of the Twa, is immaterial in this connexion. The important fact is that the Hutu had to begin the clearing of grasses, shrubs, and bushes and eventually the felling of forests to make their fields. The extent to which this process of deforestation had been carried out before the arrival of the Tutsi is difficult to assess. It is unlikely, however, that the Hutu were so numerous as to have to cultivate such considerable tracts of the country as to disrupt its natural equilibrium. It is very likely that the increase of population and the cattle-pressure following the Tutsi arrival has been a determining factor in this process.

The Tutsi immigration into the country is an historical fact attested by the traditions of Ruanda and of neighbouring peoples. Their occupation of Ruanda is an episode of the great southbound pastoral migration which resulted in the formation of the different societies which Baumann terms *Circle of the Lakes*,[7] Schapera, the *Lacustrine Bantu*,[8] and Meinhard, the *Interlacustrine Province*.[9] Pastoral peoples who according to Seligman's classification were 'half Hamites' (probably of eastern Hamitic origin),[10] for an unknown reason migrated with their large herds of long-horned cattle into an area delimited in the west by the Central African rift valley from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert, in the north and east by Lakes Kyoga and Victoria, and in the south by a line running westwards from Muanza Bay (Lake Victoria) to the Malagarasi River. Incorporating the Bantu agriculturists previously settled in that area, they constituted a number of political units (such as Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Ganda, Sogo, Mpororo,

[7] Baumann and Westermann, 1948, pp. 215-23. [8] Schapera, 1929, p. 83.
[9] Meinhard, 1947a and b. See also Roscoe, 1924.
[10] Cf. Seligman, 1930, p. 97, pp. 157 ff.

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Ruanda, Burundi, Ha, Karagwe). It is not known where these pastoralists came from.

Because of cultural and physical similarities the Galla or Somali country of Southern Abyssinia has been advanced as their possible place of origin. As the invaders have completely adopted the Bantu language of the agriculturists, the lack of linguistic clues so important in such questions is a great setback to any historical reconstruction. It should be noted in this connexion that the use of the linguistic term 'Hamites' to denote Tutsi, who do not speak a Hamitic language at all, is unfortunate and misleading. Dr. Meinhard's suggestion of using a term not burdened with linguistic connotations such as 'Ethiopians' or 'Ethiopoids' should be considered.[11] The population movement which brought the invaders to Ruanda is probably at least four centuries old. The present ruler is traditionally the fortieth king of Ruanda. We know the names of thirty-nine predecessors, but it is possible that the list is incomplete. On the other hand it seems that the first nineteen are legendary figures. Taking account of this and assuming that a reign lasts about twenty years, we go back to the sixteenth century.[12]

As the Tutsi migration seems to have been gradual and peaceful, an infiltration rather than a conquest, it is probable that at the beginning their cattle grazed on the unoccupied grasslands. But the population increased as more Tutsi kept on entering the country and more land had to be tilled to feed them. Cattle were also increasing and the Hutu had to move from the most fertile soil, in the bottom of valleys, because during the dry season these places were the only ones where cattle could find fresh grass. This process must have been in operation for a few centuries to produce the situation as we know it now.

Statistics are not available for the 1900–10 period, with which this study is concerned, but we may from the present figures (with some modifications) get a fairly good idea of the situation at the beginning of this century. The population was estimated on 31 December 1949, to be 1,870,410 souls: in 1956, 2,374,136, which

[11] Cf. Meinhard, 1947a, p. 3.

[12] According to Meyer, 1913, the pastoral invasion took place in two ways. The first, at the beginning of this millenium reached the north-east of the Province; the second, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought them farther southward. According to Kagame and Delmas, the first Hamitic populations invaded the country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi), (1956), p. 9.

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and Tutsi compounds. Only the size and number of huts and enclosures were different.[24]

These compounds, usually surrounded and more or less hidden by banana groves, were scattered throughout the country. They were on the top or on the slopes of hills, never in the valleys which were flooded every year at the end of the rainy season. They were usually rather isolated but even when they were not far from each other (and they were never so near together as to have two adjacent hedges) they did not constitute villages in the sense of concentrated clusters of dwellings situated near the centre of the territory worked by the inhabitants. There was, however, some grouping on a predominantly local basis of people who were all personally acquainted with each other. They could be described, following Murdock's terminology, as *neighbourhoods*.[25] These neighbourhoods were made up of a certain number of compounds (from twenty to sixty) situated on a hill (*umusozi*) or a part of a hill (*umurenge*). The people living there had a few common activities: mutual aid in the building of huts and in the performance of certain agricultural tasks, and recreational gatherings (such as dancing, jumping competitions, arrow shooting, &c.). They showed a certain *esprit de corps* in taking the side of one of their members in a dispute against a member of another similar community. The word used to designate the members of such groups expressed this idea of neighbourhood. They were called *abazimya muriro*, 'those who put out the fire', people very often needed. One important person in the group such as a lineage-head, was appointed as neighbourhood-head (*umukoresha*) by the traditional administrative authority to take charge of the collection of dues and tribute-labour of a hill or, more frequently, of a group of hills (*umutware w'umusozi*). He acted as an intermediary between his neighbours and the hill chief. The group could refuse the appointment of a certain person and another would be chosen. These neighbourhoods had no communal place for meeting, exchanging goods, or worshipping.

The same pattern of local grouping was to be found throughout Ruanda.

[24] Cf. Czekanowski, 117, p. 200 ff; Pauwels, 1953; Vincent, 1954, pp. 12-13.

[25] Murdock, 1949, p. 80. The definition of village given in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 64. ('a territorially separate collection of homesteads, which is regarded as a distinct unit and of such a size that its inhabitants can all be personally acquainted') cannot be applied to the Ruanda type of local community.

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

### (c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Ruanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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## CHAPTER III

# MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

### 1. MARRIAGE

121 59 THE family, the social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction[1] had in Ruanda a conjugal basis[2] that we shall consider in this section.

Married life will not be dealt with here but only the ways and conditions of the establishment of that 'union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are then recogized legitimate offspring of both partners'.[3]

*(a) The choice of a spouse*

582 In a primary marriage (the first that an individual contracts) there were few positive socially recognized criteria of choice and none of them indicated one or a few individuals as preferential partners. Among close kin cross-cousins were possible spouses, but it was generally an unfortunate circumstance that obliged a man to marry his cross-cousin. It was usually either because he was not able to pay bride-wealth immediately, or because his cross-cousin had become pregnant by him. We should add that there was no restricted or generalized exchange among the [114] Ruanda in Lévi-Strauss's sense. On the contrary I was told that because they limited connexions, exchanges were not in favour except in some special circumstances.[4]

In the preceding chapter we have mentioned persons whom Ego was prohibited from marrying because of his relations of kinship or affinity with them. Let me sum up the different categories of these persons.

We may start with that which seems fundamental in the sense

[1] Murdock, 1949, p. 1.
[2] Linton, 1936, p. 159.
[3] Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, p. 110.
[4] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 189, 322. There is restricted exchange if, when a man of group A gets a woman from group B, it results in a man of group B claiming a woman from group A. Exchange is generalised if when a woman of group A is given to a man of group B, a woman of B must be given to a man of C and a woman of C may be claimed by a man of A.

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Firstly, all these ceremonies did not take place when the bride had already been married before or when the girl had been struck by lightning because, as I was told, she was considered to have been raped by the king (thunder being one of the symbols of the king). Secondly, the spreading of the herbs and milk mixture had to be done by surprise and the girl had to cry immediately afterwards. Thirdly, in the first intercourse the girl had to struggle and penetration had to be achieved by force.

For about ten or twelve days the young couple lived semi-secluded in a hut in the groom's father's homestead. Then, at the end of that period, there was another ritual celebration (*gutwikurura*) attended by those who were present at the marriage. The central rite of the ceremony was a dance by the new couple in public. After that, the young wife was allowed to cook for her husband for the first time. The latter was given by his father his share of inheritance, and the couple settled in a compound of their own. Residence was occasionally neolocal but usually patrivirilocal (at the HuFa's).

*(d) Polygynous unions*

Ruanda may be said to be a polygynous society in two senses. Firstly, polygynous unions were culturally preferred. Secondly, probably thirty per cent. of the unions were polygynous.[7] It was no grand scale polygyny. A man rarely had more than four wives. Usually a polygynous Tutsi had two wives, a Hutu three or four, and a Twa two.

Supplementary wives were an economic asset for rich people, as a Tutsi having herds of cattle in different places found it very useful to be able to put a wife in each of his homesteads as manager; but if he had only such cattle as he could care for himself, a second wife was an expense. It was the same for a Hutu: if he had so many plots that he could not cultivate them all by himself and with the help of his wife, a second one was very useful. If not, she was rather expensive.

To have several wives was also to have many children, which were very highly valued by all Ruanda. For Tutsi occupying very high positions, plural union was a means of establishing useful

[7] 'Any society in which plural unions, however strongly favoured, actually occur in less than this percentage [set arbitrarily at 20 per cent.] of all marriages, is considered monogamous with respect to the family [. . .]' (Murdock, 1949, p. 28).

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cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.

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more than one lord, I was told. Firstly, the services required were such that it was not easy for the same person to perform them twofold. Secondly, a lord did not like to enter into *buhake* relations with somebody who was already the client of another *shebuja*, because such an arrangement was very likely to result in a considerable lessening of each lord's control on his client.

## 2. ANALYSIS OF THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

### (a) *Notion of feudality*

If the term 'feudal' is to be legitimately applied to the social structure described in the preceding section, it must be understood as a notion covering more than the historical sense of that term as used when referring to the Western Middle Ages. Feudality is here an 'ideal-type' in the Weberian sense.

Feudality is a particular ordering of certain human relations. This organization is based on an agreement between two individuals who unequally partake in the symbols of wealth and power culturally recognized in their society. The person who, in that respect, is inferior to the other, asks the other for his patronage, and, as a counterpart, offers his services. This is the essence of the feudal régime which must be found in any social system qualified by that term. Feudality is manifold in its modalities. The latter differ in many respects. For instance, obligations of each party may vary and be more or less definite in measure; the symbols and proofs of the feudal relation may be very dissimilar. Thus, in the European Middle Ages, the symbol and the proof of the feudal agreement was the tenure of a tract of land granted by the man in the superior position to the other. That piece of land was called a fief and the parties concerned became suzerain and vassal as soon as the tenure had been granted and accepted.

It seems that the qualification 'feudal' may be applied to the organization of social relations between a *shebuja* and a *garagu* described in the preceding section. At the root of that relation, there are two individuals having a different social status. From one of these individuals, there is a demand for aid and protection, and from the other a promise of assistance in counterpart of services. Granting the usufruct of a few cows to the man of inferior status is the symbol and proof of the agreement.

The word 'agreement' is employed here rather than 'contract' which is more frequently used in this connexion. I do not consider

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possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

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it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

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CHAPTER VIII

# THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY

## 1. DEFINITIONS

121 J19 THERE is in a culture much more than can be observed (artifacts, behaviour) or known by direct questions (myths, religious beliefs, &c.). There are conceptions concerning the place of man in the world, his destiny, his main values, his attitudes to his fellow men, the meaning of the invisible world, &c. That covert part of a culture is partly or totally implicit in the sense that these fundamental conceptions and values remain for the culture bearers unexpressed or even unconscious. They are thus reached by induction, some by immediate inference from observation, some by a process encompassing several states of abstraction.

Some elements of the covert culture are particularly fundamental because they underline different cultural phenomena which hitherto might have appeared unrelated. They act as a principle in the logical order from which a set of conclusions may be deduced. This is why the word 'premise' has been preferred here to others such as 'configuration',[1] 'sanction',[2] and 'theme'.[3]

On the other hand, the word 'premise' should not be thought to imply that the relationships between the cultural principle and its cultural consequences obey the strictest laws of rational logic. This relationship may be said to be logical only in a very broad sense. Or more accurately, we must clearly distinguish between 'logical' and 'rational'. There are relationships which are meaningful although they express a sequence which is emotional or 'psychological' or even unconscious rather than rational. Such relationships, however, may be said to be 'logical' in the sense in which we speak of a logic of sentiments or emotions. This simply means that we expect them, 'understand' them.[4]

114 To make the point clear, let us take an example of a logical but not rational relationship between two social phenomena. In the past, a positive correlation has been noted between low economic

[1] Kluckhohn, 1941, 1943.
[2] Opler, 1945.
[3] Herskovits, 1948, pp. 222 f.
[4] Maquet, 1951, p. 185.

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indices and the lynching of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union. There is evidently no rational means for the whites of the south to impute the responsibility for the lack of rain—which was then the cause of the poor cotton crops—to Negroes. This typically irrational behaviour, however, becomes comprehensible if we accept the frustration-aggression sequence. In this sense, it can be said that the relation between the two phenomena, economic crises and lynching, is a logical relation.[5]

Ruanda political relations disclose one of the premises of that culture. Underlying the political and feudal structures there was a general assumption about human relations. In order to formulate it as accurately as may be possible, I shall first consider more closely the social roles of the superior and inferior in the field of political and feudal relations. In the following section the words 'ruler' and 'subject' refer to superiors and inferiors in the administrative, military, and clientage structures.

## 2. THE RULER'S AND SUBJECT'S SOCIAL ROLES

The analysis of the political organization of Ruanda indicates that the ruler was expected to assume a complex role towards his subject. The two poles of it were protection and profit. The subordinate was somebody whom one protected: he was also a resource from which it was normal to draw some advantage.

Protection was not restricted to a certain field of action, but potentially encompassed the whole of the subject's life. When the inferior needed some help, any help, he was expected to apply to his ruler even if the issue was completely alien to the sphere of the main relations between the ruler and the subject. A client could ask his *shebuja* for aid in matters not pertaining to cattle and *buhake* services. It was even thought proper for the ruler to interfere in difficulties which his subject through his own misdemeanour had run into as, for instance, when an inferior had been caught stealing from somebody. When protection was refused, it was not because the question was not the ruler's concern, but on other grounds, such as disloyalty.

The extent of that protection was not strictly defined. It did not constitute for the ruler a set of particular and fixed obligations. The subordinate had a general right to be protected but very few claims to particular advantages. In *buhake*, when one offered one's

[5] Dollard, 1939, p. 44 (quoted by Maquet, 1951, p. 166).

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services to a lord in order to become his client, one was entitled to receive usufruct of his cattle. But the number of cows was not determined. It could be one or twenty or fifty or even more.

It was up to the ruler to decide if any protection was to be granted and to what extent. Of course the pressure of public opinion obliged him not to refuse aid to his subordinate unless he had some socially accepted reason to do so (such as the subordinate's disobedience), but the measure of the protection depended on his own will and pleasure.

These characteristics of the protective attitude (care of the whole of the subordinate's life, its very variable extent being left to the superior's judgement) allow us to apply to it the qualification of 'paternalistic'. Paternalism is understood here as 'the principle of acting in a way like that of a father towards his children. Because of the total dependency of the human offspring, during their first years, on those who nurse and educate them—and they are usually their parents—the latter's authority ranges over the whole of the life of the child. In everything he needs his parents, in everything they have to direct and control him. Moreover, parents sovereignly judge what they are going to give their children. Undoubtedly, their social groups force them to secure for their children the protection they need to live and develop but the children may not require such or such a particular service. Parents decide without further ado what is suitable for the child and think that better than he they know what is 'best for him'.

A paternal relation does not exclude profit. In describing the Ruanda's father's role towards his sons, I mentioned that the father's interests were usually thought to be predominant in respect of the children's interests. When inferiors were not the superior's children but his subjects or clients, that aspect of profit was much more emphasized. All those who occupied the inferior position in the relations of the political and feudal structures had dues to give and tribute labour to perform for the profit of their superiors, and some of these obligations were heavy. It did not appear at all unusual to Ruanda that power brought many privileges to those who had it. If one is a chief, is it not fitting to draw advantages from one's situation? Here, again, the extent of the subject's obligations was left within very broad limits to the superior's discretion.

The ruler's role seems to have been that paternalistic blend of

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shaped the new Ruanda situation according to their ideology. Again, it is possible that some themes and types of organization of the Hutu cultivators were particularly capable of being used in the formation of the Ruanda ethos as I have described it. But a conquest evolving into a caste structure is sufficient to account for an inegalitarian premise. Even if prior to the conquest each of the two groups concerned has an egalitarian ideology, the establishment of hereditary groups, whereby the status of vanquishers and vanquished is perpetuated, suffices to give birth to a theory of inequality.

I am of the opinion that such a theory is a necessary 'superstructure' (in the Marxist sense) of a caste system. Undoubtedly, a body of inheritance laws, opportunities for a certain kind of education restricted to the wealthiest, a difference in languages, &c., may maintain for some time a high social power in the hands of the conquerors' descendents, even if the cultural ideology is that all men are born equal. But such a lack of internal coherence ('all men are born equal' versus 'political and economic power is restricted to those who are descendants of the conquerors') is very likely to result rapidly in an evolution from a caste system to a class society. A 'racial' theory seems the only ideology perfectly consistent with a caste structure. It is very probable that conquerors adopt it not only for consistency's sake, but because it is more efficient, more easily understood and accepted, particularly when different physical traits are characteristic of each caste.

It should be understood that when we speak of 'the adoption of an ideology by the conquerors', it is not meant that one day the conquerors made a conscious choice among various possible ideologies. Rather, once a caste system operates, the patterns of political domination and of economic exploitation require people to behave as if the upper caste members were by nature different from that of the lower caste members. When the 'idea behind' these behaviours is made more or less explicit, as in tales and proverbs, it is rationalized in terms of fundamental and inborn inequality.

If there is such a necessary link between caste systems and the premise of inequality, then to know whether the conqueror's ideology, prior to the conquest, was egalitarian or not is only an historical question; when the vanquisher settles and establishes a caste system, the inegalitarian ideology is produced, as its corollary.

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The question of the previous premise of the conquerors' culture, however, remains very important in another connexion: to what extent does an anterior egalitarian ideology deter the conquerors from establishing a caste system? Is the conqueror, if imbued with an ethos of egalitarianism, inclined to admit that his principles are valid also in his relations with the vanquished group? Or does he think that obviously the conquered groups are different people? Because of our ignorance of the Tutsi cultural premises before they entered into Ruanda, these questions have to be left unanswered in the case of ancient Ruanda.

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# WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Instut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privileges of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical.